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association with a piaiyen, they will breed and multiply, so that as time goes on an original pair of stones will be increased to a large number, each one representing a spirit of the class to which its parents belong. Additional spirits are always useful to a medicine man, as they increase his importance by being available for errands and tasks which he can assign to them.

The spirits with whom a piaiyen is in contact are not believed to live in the rattle at all times, but leave some of their essence in the material form of the stones enclosed in the rattle. Spirits are believed to live in the same way as men in settlements in the bush, hunting, sleeping, making merry, but remaining invisible. Their settlements are not always identifiable, but open spaces in the forest are often pointed out as the clearings of certain settlements of spirits. Thus, an open space caused by the fall of several trees in a high wind is said to have been made for the purpose of habitation by the bush spirits, and consequently is avoided by men. If only one tree has fallen, it is believed that the spirits started to make a clearing and changed their minds. The water spirits are thought to live in settlements under the surfaces of the streams. Thus the Caribs, who have no anthropomorphic idols, nevertheless pay a sort of respect to these stones contained in piaiyen's rattles and believed to represent certain spirits.

In addition to the five classes of natural spirits just mentioned, there are a number of other types of spiritual beings whose connections with the five major classes are more or less indefinite.

The akatombo[1] are regarded as malevolent or mischievous beings who are forever present, waiting to make trouble. Medicine men do not keep these spirits under their control. They come of their own accord to medicine men who chase them away. The sorcerers, however, are more hospitable and sometimes have dealings with this class of spiritual being.

The tiger[2] spirit class is called ashushi. There are a number of different kinds of tiger spirits, just as there are a number of species of tigers in the bush. Other spirits are in fear of tiger spirits in the same way that men are afraid of actual tigers. Consequently, a

[1] Cf. Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, pp. 152–153, "The mainland Caribs term a person's shadow *ai-akaru*, and the spirit resident in this head, his Dream Spirit *aka* or *akari;* but after the latter leaves the body for the forest permanently, it is known as *aka-tomba* (*sic*)." The Barama Caribs repeatedly rejected this identification, insisting that the ghost was called yumbupa akasang.

[2] "Tiger" is the creole designation of any wild member of the cat family. True tigers, of course, are not native to the Western Hemisphere, but since the term is used in much of the literature, it is employed here.

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pleas was favorable or unfavorable, in other words, whether there will be a good or a poor crop that year. It is said that the prognostications of the piaiyen are remarkably accurate. Following this ceremony a drinking spree takes place.

The precise songs which are sung in this and other ceremonies I was unable to obtain because it was impossible to find a piaiyen who spoke English of any description. Using laymen as interpreters, I was blocked because of the secrecy which guards the proprietory interest which a piaiyen has in his incantations. It was claimed by all piaiyen, however, that the songs which each practitioner uses are peculiar to him alone. As he becomes established he invents songs and incantations of his own, or has them revealed to him by the spirits while he is in a trance induced by tobacco. By the process of trial and error, those songs which are efficacious in calling the spirits are retained in the individual piaiyen's repertoire. Medicine men say that when they wish to learn more about the spirits, to establish contact with spirits which are strangers to them, they retire to their consultation rooms or palmleaf huts, drink the usual infusion of tobacco water, smoke a cigarette, and soon the spirits may come and talk to them. During the hallucination they will discover themselves singing songs which they must remember to use on subsequent occasions when they wish to consult the spirits in question.

Contrary to the usages of medicine men in certain other Guiana tribes,[1] the piaiyen of the Barama do not use dolls or elaborately carved benches in the practice of their art.[2] Each piaiyen does use a bench, which is reserved for ceremonial purposes in the exercise of his duties, but these benches, which I have seen in use by the piaiyen at religious observances, belong to the general type used by laymen as pieces of house furniture. If my information is correct, the rattle, with its enclosed spirit stones, tobacco, herbs, and a bench are the sole ceremonial accessories used by medicine men.

In addition to the cassava ceremony, the piaiyen conducts a ceremony, the details of which I was unable to learn, at times when

[1] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 329.

[2] After a month of close relationship with David, the medicine man of Sawari, I was unable to break down his "story" to this effect. Finally remaining unconvinced, I resorted to the slightly unethical expedient of opening, in his absence, the basket where he stored his paraphernalia. Here was found his rattle with enclosed stones, tobacco, a number of dried leaves (presumably herbs used in curing), but no manikin or doll.

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755 or spirits who are causing it; such failure is also often attributed by laymen, who in this tribe seem to be singularly realistic within the bounds of their philosophy, to the ineptitude of the piaiyen in establishing contact with the proper spirit.

846 **Couvade.** It is apparent that a Carib is surrounded by spiritual beings and forces on all sides, and in one way or another must be careful not to irritate them. The couvade is a case in point. For a week following his wife's accouchement, a Carib husband is required to stay about his house and not go into the bush. The theory is that the smell of the new-born infant clings to him for that length of time and announces the birth to akatombo, the evil spirits living in the bush, who take delight in causing the child to sicken. The father is not, however, required to stay in his hammock, although a man forced to stay in the house will usually be found in the hammock because that is the most comfortable place for him to rest. Neither does the Carib father simulate the pangs of childbirth. I suggest that reports given by travellers of certain tropical South American tribes, that the couvade requires that a father behave in the manner of a woman in childbirth, may have been based on just such evidence as that offered here: the father may have been observed in his hammock following the birth of the child, and it may have been assumed in some cases that he was undergoing a vicarious lying-in, whereas the actual facts were orientated to an entirely different ideology.

718 **Binas and Magical Practices in Hunting.** "Binas," according to Roth,[1] "are charms, plant, or animal, which effect their purpose by attracting the particular object or desire yearned for, whatever it may be — from the capture of an animal to the gratification of a wish. The real source of the term *bina* is from the Arawak *bia-bina*, meaning to 'entice, attract', etc." The Barama Carib word is turarari (Roth renders it turallari). When we come to the subject of binas, we are on the border line between religion and magic. Binas are strictly private, they are associated intimately with the law of similarity, and only in abnormal cases are the piaiyen involved in their use.

In Myth 3 (q. v.) we have a tale accounting for the origin of plant binas from the carcass of a huge snake, which agrees to a certain extent with the original tale given by Roth.[2] Even at the

[1] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 281.
[2] Roth, 1915, *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 283.

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present time it is said that plant binas spring up from the ground where a large boa-constrictor has died. It is my view that this is a natural occurrence due to the fertilization of the soil offered by the decay of a large amount of organic matter. A rank growth of leafy plants is often seen to cover the spot where a carcass has lain a few weeks before. A thirty-foot camudi or boa-constrictor (not an unusual size for these snakes) is the largest animal body in the region, and naturally upon its death affords a fertile spot for the growth of wild plants, including those which may be used as binas.

Let us first consider the binas which are used to assist the hunter. These are of two major types, animal and vegetable.

The krapo (a certain kind of tree frog) bina is the best of all the binas, whether made from animal or vegetable. It is used by practically all members of the tribe and acquired shortly after a man is old enough to hunt. This frog imitates by its call several game animals in the bush, and the use of it, contrary to most bina substances, which are confined to one type of game, is considered to be generally efficacious in hunting all types of game. To prepare such a hunting charm, a man first captures a krapo. Then he makes a series of short parallel cuts on the inner side of the arm which is used to draw the bow string. The cuts run transversely across the branchio-radialis muscle. The hunter rubs some of the slime from the skin of the frog into these incisions, talking to the dead frog during the process and asking it for help in hunting. Next he takes the krapo home and chars it over a fire, after which he pulverizes the remains and puts the ashes away in a packet to be kept until the cuts on his arm start to heal. When the cuts have started to heal but are not yet closed, he rubs the ashes into the wounds, speaking an invocation which he composes himself. A typical phrase of invocation is, "tuamokau poriano ihi apameto paporo tonoyamo akara mako iwato" ("You must make me as you are. Let me hunt all kinds of meat. You must give me those things.") After the ashes have been rubbed into the arm, the user of the bina must remain in his house for three days. During this time he can eat only very thin cassava cakes and a little cassiri water with two very small peppers. If he eats meat during this time he will be unable to sight game when he goes hunting. Also at this period he must remain continent. Breaking of these

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778 224 825 tabus results in the failure of the bina to produce the desired results. On the fourth day the man goes into the bush, but merely looks for game and does not shoot anything. If during this stroll in the bush the man sees much game, he shoots a dukwaru bird (regarded as very hard to see in the forest), takes it to the nearest creek, crushes it, and washes his entire body, using the crushed meat of the dukwaru as he would use soap. Then he fishes until he catches a small silver-colored fish called muroko, and on the river bank crushes it and again washes himself, using the macerated body of the fish as he would use soap. It seems that the dukwaru and the muroko are considered to be the first fruits of the bina power. If these provisions are carried out faithfully, good luck will attend the efforts of the huntsman.

In addition to the krapo, the aruko worm is used as a bina. It is a tree worm of the centipede type, about four inches long, as big around as a man's finger, and is especially distinguished by the red and white marking which encircles the body. The red marking is apparently the explanation of the choice of this worm as a bina, as in the invocations which accompany its use, the worm is asked to give the hunter power to streak with red the bodies of the animals which he hunts, in the way in which the worm is colored, presumably referring to the blood which the hunter hopes to draw from his quarry. A man finds one of these worms in a tree, dislodges it with a stick, and takes it home wrapped in a leaf. In his house he chars it over the fire and makes it into a black powder, which is then rubbed into cuts in the arm, in the manner followed with the krapo bina. No slime or liquid from the worm is rubbed into the incisions, however, as was the case with the frog. The period of tabu following the completion of the bina is only one day in this case.

As far as I was able to discover, the krapo and the aruko worm are the only members of the animal kingdom used in making binas.

778 824 A large number of plants are used as binas. I have made no attempt to exhaust the lists of plants used for this purpose.

224 All plant binas are used as charms to assist the hunter in securing definite types of game; that is, each bina is efficacious only in the hunting of a certain species, and is chosen because of a resemblance, fancied or real, between some part of the plant and some

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part of an animal in question. Practically all of the plants used have non-woody stems and large leaves. The use of these binas is secret, it being believed that discovery destroys the effect and sometimes causes serious consequences. A considerable element of trial and error is present in the choice of plant binas. A man hunting in the bush will notice a plant of which the leaf, for instance, resembles the hoofs of the red deer. He will dig up the plant with his cutlass and carry it home, where it is not likely to be seen or touched by other persons. Whenever he goes out to hunt he repairs without being observed to the spot where the plant is growing, picks a leaf, crushes it, and rubs it vigorously over the scars of his krapo bina. Burning or drying the leaf before using, contrary to the condition of animal binas, diminishes the power of a plant bina more quickly. While applying the bina to his arm the man recites an invocation something like this: "ikalimako-moko-tuturarari-iwa" (lit: "you give him — you are bina") In some cases it is the root which is used, again it is the stem. In any case, the part of the plant which bears the alleged resemblance to the animal desired is used for bina purposes. If the use of a certain plant does not bring the desired results, it is discarded, while plants whose use is attended with good luck may be used for years. Most men have a collection of plants, each of which is efficacious for procuring one kind of game or fish. And a man usually uses several binas before starting on a hunting expedition, so that he will be prepared to deal with as many kinds of game as possible.

Associated with binas are a number of tabus. When using one of these charms on hunting expeditions the proprietor of the bina must always be careful to sling his hammock up over a beam of a house, where it cannot be touched accidentally by anyone in his absence. If any other touches the hammock, the bina will be useless in hunting. Furthermore, a man while using a given bina plant, that is, while he has it in his field, must not sell his bow and arrow or gun, although others may borrow them. These restrictions are important, the theory being that when a man uses a bina he becomes associated in a sort of partnership relationship with the supernatural power represented by the bina. This power becomes joint owner of the man's hammock and hunting weapons. There is a difference of opinion as to just what the power is which

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778 224 771 the bina represents, but it is agreed that in some way it is associated with the species of game in question. We have already seen that each animal has an individual spirit of its own. The bina power is not associated with individual animal spirits, nor have the natives formulated their ideas concerning it sufficiently to conceive of it consciously as a spirit representing the entire species. Nevertheless, it seems that the underlying notion is that the bina plant or animal participates in the spiritual power which pervades the whole species or group of species for which it is efficacious. Informants say that because the bina has something in common with an animal it "must have the same spirit that all animals like it have." By rubbing the bina into himself through incisions in the skin, a man partakes of the power himself, or becomes associated with the spirit. And the power or spirit is personalized sufficiently to take an interest in certain of a man's belongings, an interest which is sometimes rendered in pidgin English as "ownership." Some informants say that the bina spirit actually assumes ownership in the hammock and hunting weapons. Others say that the spirit merely accompanies the hunter into the bush and helps him to find and kill game. All agree, however, that the krapo bina spirit assumes joint ownership in the hammock, hunting weapons, and, in addition, the bench, which must be hidden during the owner's absence so that other persons will not use it. The spirit resents the use of hammock or bench and the sale of weapons by persons with whom it is not associated. Asked to explain the somewhat traitorous behaviour of these spirits which, while pervading animal species, betray the species to human beings, informants uniformly replied so incoherently as to indicate that the problem had never been brought to their attention. There is thus considerable confusion concerning the precise identification of the bina spirits, a confusion which, I think we may safely say, exists as strongly in the minds of the Caribs themselves as in those of the readers of this section.

778 784 Serious consequences may attend the spoilation of a bina as a result of the breaking of one of the tabus mentioned above. If a krapo bina spoils, its proprietor becomes partially or totally blind. In regard to this particular bina, spoilation may also occur if the proprietor allows a child to get its urine on his hammock or on himself. Boils and eruptions most often attend the spoilation of

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784 a plant bina. Tabus which must be observed with plant binas, in
778 addition to those mentioned above applying to all binas, include secrecy and prevention of the accidental touching or handling of the plant by a woman. (Accidental touching or handling by another man does not result in spoilation.) Binas may be given away or sold, although this is very rarely done on account of the precarious nature of the results. The bina power may object to being thus bandied about and produce boils and other ailments for the discomfort of both the giver and the receiver.

755 If a man finds that his bina has spoiled (that is, if he has an ail-
778 ment which he feels may have been caused by an infringement of a bina tabu), he may be cured by a piaiyen. Alec, my interpreter, for instance, was once cured for a case of this sort which resulted in a skin eruption. "First the piaiyen blew tobacco smoke all over my head and then over my face. He was smoking a cigar of Carib tobacco. He passed the palm of his hand down over my face while he was smoking. He sang. The spirit of the krapo bina came to the piaiyen and told him what was the matter. The piaiyen sang, asking the spirit of the bina to come out of me. The spirit came out, I could not see it, but the piaiyen talked to it as it came out. He only talked and sang to the spirit. He did not suck me or do anything to me except blow tobacco smoke on me, pass his hand over my face, and talk and sing to the spirit. He did this three nights. During three days I could eat no meat. The piaiyen gave me cassava and birds, mostly mamm and powis, but no other kinds of game. I paid the piaiyen with two yards of cloth. I got so I could see better in a few days."

832 A number of love charms are in use. Those of which I know are used only by men, although women also are said to use analogous charms of love. All are roots bearing an alleged resemblance to the male sex organs. One is to be mixed with oil and rubbed on the hair of the suitor. When near the lady he passes his hand through his hair and manages to touch the lady with it. Another is surreptitiously mixed with the damsel's face-paint. A third can be rubbed unmixed on anything which she would be likely to touch. No unfavorable results of a medical nature are to be expected from the clumsy or ill-advised use of these charms, although embarrassment and ridicule follow discovery. Failure of the charm to win the girl's heart is attributed to improper methods